the Caraja -- from the 'irewẽhẽ,' who, I take it, are the Javahe, 'ijewehe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitáua bury the dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial method when they were living with the Javahé, in which case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Mattos that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally," that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitáua knew nothing of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126] "land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called pananá-chingehó or chinghó. It is possible

171 302 765 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 [177] [412] Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107 is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267) 302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two 171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous 515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They [314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [881] [764] [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends, and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 593 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 261 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
[764] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

415 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanantú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
292 in Tampiitáua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitáua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankurá. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr.,
301 Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
881 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

171 To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and
301 their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

961 342 345 The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

361 166 The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, [621] [578] that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 136 166 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella 361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from ● [764] [731] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 78]

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

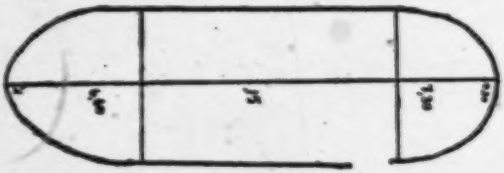

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

5/2 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

231 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already men-
364 tioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches,
[136] which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé
[825] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw
one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which
would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), in-
136 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá
192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on
European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the
savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also
come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find
something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they
get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco
leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such
articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they
get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked
and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the
bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [trans-
lated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we
171 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá
[361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the
[342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the
[476] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and
● [764] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient
[712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in
possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in
[345] the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most
typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial,
and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá
[352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they
give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses
within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings,
in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The
171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses
361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

other Gê tribes and of the Bororo, but they differ from their northern neighbors in the ground plan and framework of the houses, in the manner of burial, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble various tribes of the upper Xingu basin in the layout of the houses around a ceremonial house and in the use of the sleeping hammock, but differ from them in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of the dwellings versus the ceremonial house, as well as in the custom of burying the dead inside the house. It is also worth noting the difference between the elongated-dome shape of the Tapirapé and northern Kayapó houses and the beehive shape of the Kayamo-Chavante dwellings on the Rio das Mortes. [Ed., end of Vol. III.]

Chapter 8

[112:51] **Subsistence**

The Tapirapé derive their subsistence largely from farming and fishing. This does not keep them from using any opportunity they may have to gather wild fruits and honey and to hunt. The fruits of certain trees are plucked as they chance to be found along the way, but those of the tucum-açú (Astrocharyum spec.), called chavana in Tapirapé, are sought out systematically during the month of October. In September or thereabouts, the men equip themselves with axes and gourds and go into the forest to look for honey. During the same month they catch turtles and turtle eggs. At different times of the year they gather the larvae of various kinds of wasps (kaua, "wasp" in Tapirapé) and kill animals both small and large. Although some of them hunt at all times of the year, February and March are the special hunting months, for this is the time when game, especially wild pigs, armadilloes, and pacas, is crowded in by the rising waters.

During my stay in Tampiitaua, there was only one man who preferred hunting to any other occupation. He was Kanchovani, a Tapirapé about 32 years of age who was more slender in body than many other members of his tribe. While the others worked in their

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had *urucú* in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 787

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*); that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca*). 775 825 [554]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *ancánga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Waré, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awakú anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *munpi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [773]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. [302 764]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

fall, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamairaho told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death.

Case of Pančei

Pančei is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

Case of Anawani

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panteri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *panié* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of *topi*.

Case of Kanacipã

Kanacipã is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanacipã out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [837] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

Death.—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in 763 the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The • 764 corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

765 Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

533 **Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);